

## Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT WASHINGTON POST OP-ED WEDNESDAY,  
JULY 12, HEADED "SALT AND THE SOVIET TRIALS."

2. SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE IS EXACTLY WHERE HE OUGHT  
TO BE TODAY: IN GENEVA, TALKING ABOUT STRATEGIC-ARMS CON-  
TROL WITH HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART. SOME AMERICANS, INCLUDING  
A GROUP OF SENATORS, BELIEVE HE SHOULD HAVE BOYCOTTED THE  
GENEVA SESSION, OR EVEN SUSPENDED THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITA-  
TION TALKS ALTOGETHER, TO INDICATE DISPLEASURE WITH THE CUR-  
RENT TRIALS OF ANATOLY SCHARANSKY AND ALEXANDER GINZBURG.  
YET THAT COURSE WOULD BE OF NO PRACTICAL BENEFIT TO THE  
DEFENDANTS, AND IT COULD UNDERCUT THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF  
THE UNITED STATES.

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3. MR. VANCE SAID, BEFORE LEAVING FOR GENEVA, THAT THE SALT  
ISSUE "AFFECTS THE PEACE OF THE WORLD" AND THUS "MUST BE  
TREATED DIFFERENTLY FROM OTHERS AND SHOULD BE ADDRESSED ON A  
CONTINUING BASIS WITH THE HIGHEST PRIORITY." THAT'S THE  
POINT. THE UNITED STATES HAS PROPERLY CANCELED SCIENCE AND  
ENVIRONMENT MISSIONS TO MOSCOW; THE RUSSIANS HAD A SPECIAL

INTEREST IN THE SCIENCE MISSION. BUT NEGOTIATING AN ARMS-CONTROL TREATY IS IN NO SENSE A ONE-SIDED AFFAIR. IT IS A PROCESS PROMISING ADVANTAGE TO THE UNITED STATES AS WELL. WE CAN ENVISAGE AN ATMOSPHERE ARISING OUT OF THE TRIALS IN WHICH SOVIET BARBARISM MIGHT REDUCE THE GENEVA TALKS TO A THIN FORMALITY AND OTHERWISE CRIMP THE SALT PROCESS. BUT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT THEREBY LOSE ITS INTEREST IN PURSUING AMERICAN SECURITY BY THE ARMS-CONTROL ROUTE. FOR AMERICANS TO IMAGINE THEY CAN REDUCE THE RISKS AND COSTS OF LIFE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE WITHOUT SOME ADJUSTMENT TO THEIR MOST DANGEROUS ADVERSARY IS AN EXERCISE IN ESCAPISM.

4. DECENT PEOPLE EVERYWHERE ARE REVOLTED BY THE TRIALS. RESPONSIBLE SENATORS, HOWEVER, HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO EXPRESS THEIR REVULSION IN TERMS MINDFUL OF AMERICAN INTERESTS. HOWARD BAKER (R.-TENN), FOR INSTANCE, SAYS THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SHOW, BY SUSPENDING SALT, THAT IT WON'T BE "PUSHED AROUND"; WE THINK SUSPENSION WOULD SHOW MUCH MORE THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN BE PUSHED AROUND. HENRY JACKSON (D-WASH) SAYS THE TRIALS RAISE THE ISSUE OF SOVIET TRUSTWORTHINESS. BUT WHAT, TO HIM, DOESN'T? DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN (D-NY) FEELS THE VANCE TRIP TO GENEVA MAKES THIS COUNTRY AN ACCOMPLICE IN SOVIET SAVAGERY--AS THOUGH THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAD NOT MADE PLAIN HIS OWN ABHORRENCE OF THE TRIALS. LATER THIS WEEK HE WILL DRAMATIZE AMERICAN SYMPATHY AND CONCERN BY MEETING WITH MRS. UNCLASSIFIED

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SCHARANSKY. DONALD RIEGLE (D-MICH) CAN'T IMAGINE ACCEPTING ANY ARMS-CONTROL AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT TERRORIZES ITS OWN PEOPLE. NOT EVEN ONE IN WHICH THE RUSSIANS ACCEPTED ALL AMERICAN DEMANDS? WOULD HE RENOUNCE THE ARMS-CONTROL AGREEMENT (SALT I AND THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN) WE ALREADY HAVE WITH THE SOVIETS?

5. PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE ARMS CONTROL IS A SNARE AND WHO SEE THE TRIALS AS A WAY TO DISCREDIT WHAT REMAINS OF DETENTE MIGHT BE EXCUSED IF THEY SAID AS MUCH. BUT IT WOULD THEN BE INCUMBENT ON THEM TO MAKE THE CASE, TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS BETTER OFF WITHOUT A GOOD SALT AGREEMENT AND WITHOUT SOME MEANS OF ENGAGING IN POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THE RUSSIANS ON A CONTINUING BASIS. WE DO NOT THINK THAT CASE CAN EFFECTIVELY BE MADE. WE DO NOT HEAR THE SHRILLER CRITICS EVEN TRYING TO MAKE IT. THAT IS WHY THEIR PROTESTS AGAINST MR. VANCE'S GENEVA MISSION HAVE THE LOOK OF POLITICAL POSTURING.

CHRISTOPHER

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